

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MADRID 06638 01 OF 02 151126Z
ACTION EUR-12

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TO USINFO WASHDC
USCINCEUR-ECAP
USNMR SHAPE
SECSTATE WASHDC 1630
SECDEF WASHDC
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USMISSION NATO

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 6638

SECSTATE FOR EUR/WE DURKEE; EUR/RPM
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TAGS: NATO, GI,SP,UK,PLOS
SUBJ: EDITORIAL ON GIBRALTAR,EEC,NATO

1. SEPTEMBER 6 EL PAIS CONTRIBUTES THE FOLLOWING
EDITORIAL ABOUT SPANISH VIEW OF RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN GIBRALTAR ISSUE, NATO, EEC, BRITAIN. TEXT
IN FULL:

TITLE: "A NEW STRATEGY FOR GIBRALTAR." TEXT:
"SPANISH DIPLOMACY USED TO BRING UP THE GIBRALTAR
ISSUE WITH SUCH EXCESSIVE FREQUENCY DURING THE MANY
YEARS OF DICTATORSHIP THAT PUBLIC OPINION HAS COME TO
LOOK UPON IT WITH SKEPTICISM. THE WORD GIBRALTAR, AFTER
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PAGE 02 MADRID 06638 01 OF 02 151126Z

HAVING BEEN A POLITICAL RALLYING CRY, HAS BECOME A
BOTHERSOME TOPIC. A TOPIC IS A NOW-USELESS TRUTH.
UNFORTUNATELY, NO MATTER HOW STALE THE SUBJECT MAY BE
AS RALLYING CRY INCLUDING IN THE FIELD OF SPANISH
NEGOTIATING CAPABILITY...IT CONTINUES WITH US. GIBALTAR STILL
IS TODAY, AS IS HAS ALWAYS BEEN SINCE THE TREATY OF
UTRECHT, AN AMPUTATION OF SPANISH NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY,

AND IT IS, THEREFORE, ONE OF THE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN THE FIELD OF BILATERAL AFFAIRS THAT FOREIGN SECRETARY DAVID OWEN AND HIS SPANISH COUNTERPART MARCELINO OREJA WILL HAVE TO TACKLE DURING THEIR MADRID TALKS.

3. "THE MATTER, HOWEVER, IS NOT JUST BILATERAL. SPAIN MUST TEST HER INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATING CAPABILITY ABOVE ALL WITH A VIEW TOWARD ENTERING HER NATURAL INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THAT IS, THE CONTEXT OF WESTERN EUROPE.

4. "A TOTAL NORMALIZATION AL PROPERLY WORKING INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENT ARE WHOLLY UNTHINKABLE UNLESS EACH OF THE STATES THAT MAKE IT UP HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY SOLVED ITS SOVEREIGNTY PROBLEMS AND ANY MORE-OR-LESS CAMOUFLAGUED ANACHRONISTIC COLONIAL SITUATIONS.

5. "SPAIN'S SOVEREIGNTY IS CURTAILED IN THE ROCK; BUT THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF SOVEREIGNTY TODAY PRESENT DIFFERENT ASPECTS THAT DO NOT CONSIST ONLY IN THE FULL POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF A TERRITORY. IN THE CASE OF GIBRALTAR, THE COLONIAL PROBLEM IS MANIFEST IN THE SHAPE OF A POLITICAL AND MILITARY MORTGAGE. IT IS AN ENFORCED CONDITION IMPOSED UPON SPAIN WITHIN THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM, A TERRITORY WHICH, ADDITIONALLY THROUGH SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS, IS WITHIN NATO AND IS EVEN A COMMON MARKET FREE PORT. THE FORMULA OF ATTACKING ONLY THE AMPUTATION OF SPAIN'S TERRITORIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 MADRID 06638 01 OF 02 151126Z

INTEGRITY, APPLIED TIME AFTER TIME IN THE DAYS OF FOREIGN MINISTER CASTIELLA, HAS BECOME COMPLETELY SWAMPED. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE, THEREFORE, TO HARP ON THE SAME THEME. THE DIPLOMACY OF DEMOCRATIC SPAIN SHOULD ALSO ENLARGE THE FRAMEWORK OF ITS TRADITIONAL CLAIMS, WHICH HAVE ONLY LED TO A HARDENING OF ATTITUDES, TO A DARKENING OF BRITISH-SPANISH RELATIONS AND TO THE PLACING OF OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD LEADING TO THE INTEGRATION OF SPAIN INTO THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM. GREAT BRITAIN, USING THE FICTITIOUS SELF-DETERMINATION OF A POPULATION THE EXISTENCE OF WHICH DEPENDS ON THE MILITARY BASE THERE -- AND TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE DIALECTIC WEAKNESS OF A DICTATORSHIP -- COULD IN OTHER TIMES RESPOND TO THE HARDENING OF ATTITUDES WITH A SIMILAR INFLEXIBILITY.

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PAGE 01 MADRID 06638 02 OF 02 151141Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 6638

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6. "THE GIBRALTAR PROBLEM CANNOT BE LOOKED AT OUTSIDE OF ITS NATURAL CONTEXT, THE STRAIT THAT BEARS ITS NAME, AND THE STRATEGIC CONDITIONS THAT AFFECT THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE. THE DICTATORIAL REGIME HAD TO ACCEPT FURTHER AMPUTATIONS OF SPANISH SOVEREIGNTY, TRANSFERRING THE CONTROL OF YET ANOTHER NAVAL BASE, ROTA, TO ANOTHER MEDITERRANEAN POWER: THE UNITED STATES. IN ADDITION, THE PREDOMINATING TENDENCIES IN THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE ARE THREATENING TO PREVENT SPAIN FROM EXTENDING HER RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS IN THE ZONE OF THE STRAIT; AND THIS COMES PRECISELY NOW, WHEN THE SEA POWERS -- EEC, U.S. AND CANADA --, THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONES, HAVE DEPRIVED SPAIN OF HER TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC RIGHTS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC.

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PAGE 02 MADRID 06638 02 OF 02 151141Z

7. "THESE SEA-POWERS INTEND TO EXCLUDE THE COASTS OF STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT STRAITS FROM THE 12 MILE EXTENSION OF TERRITORIAL WATERS. NO OTHER STRAITS HAVE AS MUCH ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE AS GIBRALTAR'S AND FEW HAVE ITS STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE. THE AIM OF THE GREAT POWERS IS TO AVOID SUBJECTING THE PASSAGE OF NUCLEAR

SUBMARINE FORCES TO THE RIGHT OF SEARCH AND CONTROL BY THE COASTAL STATES. THUS SPAIN SEES HERSELF DRIVEN FROM WATERS THAT WERE INTERNATIONAL FOR FISHING, AS A RESULT OF INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE -- IN WHICH GREAT BRITAIN, AS A SEA AND NUCLEAR POWER AND AS A MEMBER OF THE EEC PLAYS A KEY ROLE -- AND SHE WILL HAVE TO BEAR THE GROWING SERVITUDE OF INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY. OUR ENTRANCE INTO NATO AND THE EEC WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT A NEW APPROACH TO THESE PROBLEMS AND TO AFFORD GREATER LEEWAY TO OUR DIPLOMACY.

8. "GREAT BRITAIN ASSERTS THAT IT HAS NO MILITARY INTEREST IN GIBRALTAR AND THAT IT IS ONLY MOVED BY THE DEFENSE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE GIBRALTARIANS, WHO WOULD PREFER TO CONTINUE BEING BRITISH. BUT IT IS THE MILITARY BASE THAT MAINTAINS THOSE PEOPLE ECONOMICALLY ALIVE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RECONCILE THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS OF SPAIN SOVEREIGNTY WITH THE DEFENSE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE POPULATION OF GIBRALTAR? TO THE HARDENING OF THE SPANISH ATTITUDE THAT CAME AFTER FOREIGN MINISTER CASTIELLA WON THE CASE IN THE UNITED NATIONS IN 1968, BRITAIN ANSWERED BY STIFFENING HER OWN ATTITUDE. AND BRITAIN HAS REFUSED EVER SINCE TO NEGOTIATE THE MATTER, AND MAYBE WHAT SPANISH DIPLOMACY SHOULD TRY TO ACHIEVE FIRST OF ALL IS TO MANAGE TO GET THOSE NEGOTIATIONS INTO MOVEMENT. WITHOUT EXCLUDING, OF COURSE, THAT IF A DIALOGUE IS BEGUN,
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PAGE 03 MADRID 06638 02 OF 02 151141Z

THE STRICT BLOCKADE IMPOSED BY SPAIN ON THE STRAIT ZONE COULD BE EASED. WHAT IS NEEDED AT PRESENT IS A DETENTE OF THE PROBLEM, A NORMALIZATION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN LONDON AND MADRID ABOUT THIS THORNY PROBLEM. IN THE PRESENT HISTORICAL MOMENT, GIBRALTAR IS NO LONGER A BLIND ALLEY, AND A DEMOCRATIC SPAIN WHO PRETENDS TO ENTER HER NATURAL WESTERN CONTEXT HAS MORE ARGUMENTS, MORE ACES IN HER CARDS AND MORE LEEWAY TO NEGOTIATE. BRINGING TOGETHER THE INTERESTS OF SPAIN AND OF THE GIBRALTARIANS AND THOSE OF SPANISH AND EUROPEAN SECURITY." ITEM. RYLANCE

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